1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

leaves laid on the floor of the house. Dry, pulverized leaves (*maniva*) of a certain kind of manioc are sprinkled on this dough, and banana leaves are placed on top. After two or three days, when the dough is uncovered, it is crusted over with a thick layer of white mould, in which may be seen the contours of the maniva leaves. The dough, which by now has a strong, sweet taste, is cut into strips and placed in a jar, where, little by little, it exudes a liquid that in color and taste somewhat resembles a bad port wine. In time this liquor becomes harsh, corrosive, and strongly intoxicating. At feasts it is served only in individual, small, long gourds and, since the available quantity is generally not great, only to persons of a certain distinction. 273 [415] [554]

To prepare paiauarú proper, the women lift the dough from its storage place in the jar and, mixing it with water, strain it into another jar, from which it is dipped in gourds to serve the guests.

The preparation of beverages is an exclusively feminine task. Care is taken to prohibit a pregnant women from taking part, since her participation would ruin the product. [462] [843]

No one serves himself with his own hands except the women in charge of the jars. At all the celebrations there is a "server"—generally the uncle of the child or girl who is being feted or even a closer relative—whose function is to serve the full gourds to the guests, one by one, when they are seated, or to wait on them if while dancing they pass in front of the jars, thereby indicating their desire to drink. The supply of water for filtering drinks is also entrusted to the server. 576 273

To me paiauarú has a disagreeable taste of fermentation and rot, the fibers contained in it making it even more disgusting. The Indians, however, drink it with enormous satisfaction. Becoming drunk, as often happens, they vomit, wash the mouth with water, and continue to swill. If the beverage is to be kept in a "new" jar, used for the first time, they take care to call in the shaman, *pagé*, to remove with gestures any invisible substance that might blind those drinking from the container. 273 [751]

Besides these three beverages, there are still other fermented drinks, which are, however, rarely prepared, such as dëdne-č|'| from cane (dë'dne) juice boiled and fermented in a jar; ʊi'-č|'|, a sort of chicha made from yam tubers; a drink made of crushed pineapple, which after two days in the jar becomes potent but is also taken unfermented as a refreshment; and another drink, pururu'ka, made from boiled and fermented bananas.

Many of the men are today greatly addicted to cane rum, *caxaça*, which they purchase or receive as "treats" in the Neobrazilian establishments. One of the axioms against which no one on the Solimões will argue is: "Sem caxaça o indio naõ trabalha" ("Without rum the Indian won't work"). The worst influence is naturally exercised by the sugar-cane establishments that have rum stills and where the work is done almost exclusively by Indians. Some owners purposely get the Indians drunk in order to facilitate their exploitation. 273 177 648

In Belém I saw the cashier of one place, an incorrigible sot, ply women and girls with rum merely because it gave him pleasure to seem them blind drunk. The itinerant peddlers, too, in order to persuade Indians for their own purposes, habitually initiate the haggling with a glass of rum. On the other hand, neither 123

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

844 held behind on the hammock, and the woman assistant embraces her from behind. The umbilical cord is tied with cotton thread and cut with a small sliver of bamboo or cauna brava. Even today an iron instrument is not used for this purpose. The wound is lightly cauterized, being touched once or twice with charcoal from a small tree gnawed round in circular fashion by a certain insect. The afterbirth is called na:'ana/(mouth) "because the child in the maternal womb nourishes itself by it"; it is buried at the place of birth.

841 *Infanticide.*—Infanticide immediately after birth occurs, though rarely, and then usually of an unmarried woman's offspring, the child being buried alive. In general, the Tukuna consider it a great sin, which ta-ë' will surely punish. An Indian I knew whose unmarried daughter became pregnant suspected her of planning infanticide and threatened her with death should she carry out her intention. Another reason for infanticide is that the child is "disqualified." For example, when da'tanina had a child by a mestizo, the son of a Tukuna woman, her own father did not wish her to raise it, hence she buried it alive. After death an [775] infanticide ascends to heaven with the child's corpse held crosswise in her mouth, "like a bitch carrying her whelp."

842 Many Tukuna fathers show an exaggerated preference for male children, to the detriment of daughters. I once, quite intimately, observed the disgust of a couple with their first-born, merely because it was a girl; they became vexed to the point of planning to kill her some weeks after birth. However, the mother's brother, as protector of his niece, reproached and threatened the couple so unmistakably that they never again dared discuss the subject.

846 856 *After the birth.*—The newborn child's mouth is immediately cleansed and the skull is manipulated, being pressed laterally between the fingers into the proper shape. The infant's body is washed in tepid water, the mother's in hot water. With a little stick a bit of the umbilical blood is rubbed on the child's cheeks so that they may become ruddy, just as a little of the first feces is rubbed on the eyebrows to make them grow thick and black, a feature very much esteemed. The Mongoloid birthmark on the skin of the sacral region is also attributed to these first feces. After the hammock and the mosquito bar are taken down, the platform is knocked apart, the tururí cloth is buried, and the midwife, followed by the mother, carries the child to the house.

851 846 Even before the birth the midwife takes care to scrape genipapo, with which the child is painted from head to toe on the first day, an old custom instituted by the culture hero dyai' (see p. 128). This is considered an efficient protection against any evil that might befall the newborn infant. It is also the custom to [301] thread small bits of the root of a grass called ma'i^{a}a-arj-ĕu'pj (*periperỳ* [?], "of otter") as beads, tying them around the child's wrist and hand.

846 Father and mother must be cautious and must diet until the umbilical cord drops off. The mother sallies forth from her mosquito bar only to attend to her necessities and to bathe herself with tepid water; both parents eat only small fish, small birds, bananas, and manioc cakes, avoiding all acid foods. Except for going to the river to bathe, the father may not leave the house grounds, and he is for- [824] bidden to touch a firebrand, a paddle, an ax, or a bow. If he touches his bow, the child will develop a crooked spine and become a hunchback.

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

The father may drink paiauarú in small quantities, but only if it is sweet; drinking more would make the child a drunkard and would also cause it to cry excessively. Even after the period of restriction the father may not approach his child if he has touched some object that might harm it. At Igarapé de São Jeronymo I was told that the father is not subject to any dietary or other restrictions, provided that he does not touch the child.

The Tukuna, like the Apinayé,[1] believe that the acts of the parents are reflected in their children's health, and vice versa, not only in the period immediately subsequent to birth but also throughout life. Thus, when a sick person submits to treatment by a shaman (pagé) the parents as well as the children must for one week avoid eating salt, peppers, and viscous fish.

Once the umbilical cord has fallen off, it is thrust among the roots of a *pupunheira* tree or, better yet, into a crevice opened by the edge of an ax in the bark of the *tapereba*, since this tree "does not die," even when chopped to pieces. After the birth of a child, the husband avoids his wife for one year, more or less.

Infancy and Childhood

The infant is carried slung across the shoulders in a sling, tipoia (pl. 8, *b*), some ten centimeters wide, which is double, so that the child sits on one strip while the other supports its back. This sling (T., na:-čim|ª) was formerly woven of cotton or tucum fiber, or even at times made of tururí bark cloth. Nowadays it is almost always of purchased material.

Amulets protect the child against disease purely by their magical powers. Thus, the child has the skull, minus the beak, of a *miuá* (*Phalacrocorax vigna*) suspended from its neck so that it shall not fall sick of fever. A necklace of certain seeds with a penetrating odor protects it against catarrh; and the claw of a *tatú canastra* (*Chelonischus gigas*), hung from the wrist, guarantees the child's becoming an expert worker, especially a good canoewright. The Tukuna have not the slightest conception of the "evil eye."

If one goes at night into the dark jungle with a nursling, the infant runs the risk of losing the soul from its body. To prevent this, one must whistle and call the child by name. The tree spirits also like to steal children's souls, as do the water demons called dyë'vaë (see p. 119), which threaten it during its bath in the igarapé; for this reason the mother is accustomed to thrust a magic arrow into the bath water. Children less than two years old crying alone attract the shades of the dead (na-čii'), who separate their souls from their bodies. All these circumstances require the intervention of a shaman. The child receives its name on the day after birth, as already described (p. 60). At the age when they begin to crawl, children are subjected to a ceremony called tẹ-ta' ẹẹmatị (paint them), at which they are daubed with red urucú and decorated with feathers plucked from parrots.

Children submit—formerly at the age of two, nowadays at four years or later—to a second festive ceremony called bua tẹ ta bẽ'ëru (pluck the children's hair), at which the ears are also pierced and boys have the septum of the nose pierced. Today only the hair is plucked—if, indeed, it is not cut with scissors—and the

[1] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, p. 102.

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

would ensure a grand catch of fish. The following legend, "The Son of Timbó," concerns this ancient ceremony.

The relatives of the vərẽkị took her with them into the jungle in order to pull timbó for her bath. While so occupied they left her sitting on a nodular outgrowth of a timbó root, where she remained waiting the entire time while the relatives were busy in the timbó stand. Without having had any sexual relations whatsoever she became pregnant by the spirit of the timbó and gave birth to a son. When, after six months, she carried the child for the first time to take a bath in the igarapé, she noticed that as soon as she dipped the little boy into the water, the fish died in great numbers around him. When, in the second bath, this phenomenon was repeated, she realized that the boy was the cause and that he was the son of timbó. From then on she no longer bathed him in the igarapé, for fear that all the fish might die, but bathed him on land. When the boy grew older, his relatives used him to kill fish, allowing him to swim a little in the igarapé.

Koch-Grünberg collected an Arekuna legend of a boy who produced the same effects."

A couple of hours [boat trip] above the settlement of Santa Rita an igarapé debouches from the left bank of the Solimões; the old maps give it the name of Quiriá, but today it is called Igarapé da Rita. This name, which it bore even before the founding of Santa Rita in 1870, gave rise to the following story.

In this igarapé there was a Tukuna girl called Rita in Portuguese. One day, after her puberty ceremony, her relatives prepared a solution of timbó in a large basin made from a paxiuba spatulate. Taking the girl, they all went for a turn about the igarapé, where the present homes of Nino and Sebastião are now, and where there is a very deep sink (poço), which never dries up. They seated Rita on a horizontal fallen log in the igarapé and washed her with timbó. The fish began to die, and the current carried them off downstream. Everyone followed the prize, leaving Rita seated alone on her log. When they returned she had disappeared, and not the slightest trace of her was ever seen again; hence they were convinced that some immortal had carried her off.

Supplementary ceremony.—After six or eight months, when the vərẽkị's hair has grown again, a supplementary ceremony is celebrated, like the one after the first depilation (see p. 90), and like it called dyɔ-pa'kẽẽ (to cut the hair across the forehead). The owner of the house, when he wishes to celebrate it, says: "čɛ'i nɛ'i ẽ' ča gu'u" ("I shall burn the fleas"), since they believe that, unless this is done, fleas will increase in a disagreeable way. For this feast drinks are also prepared, but a smaller group of guests is invited and no costumes are requested. Uaricánas and seclusion are also lacking.

On this occasion the leftovers from the previous celebration are burned in the center of the house—the masks and fringes but not the tururí cloth of the costumes, which they utilize as mats. The coals of the fire are passed round the heels of those present to prevent them from being attacked by fleas.

Subsequent menstruation.—There are few restrictions for this. Only if the flow is very strong does the menstruating girl retire for a while. The spirits of certain trees such as the kapok—*sumakuma* (vəči'ne), which the Tukuna identify with the *curupira* of the Neobrazilians—have the tendency to wound menstruating women with "arrows," even by day; this is why women do not like to stray far from the house yard while menstruating. Contact with menstrual blood makes a man inefficient (l.g., *panéma;* T., ñẽẽ[17]) in hunting and fishing, and even in other activities. A pepper bath is the most efficacious antidote.

[17] Koch-Grünberg, Vom Roroima zum Orinoco, 2:70.

2: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

881 Several hours after midnight, half a dozen of the girl's relatives, holding her around the waist while her eyes are covered by the feather diadem, [535] dance back and forth toward the wall, which is cut open with a knife so that they finally pass through into the main room. As she is now more exposed to invisible forces, the relatives dance with her until near dawn, then slowly go outside and circle the house. At sunrise they uncover her eyes and have her throw a burning stick against a pole marked to represent the "enemy." She now walks without assistance and dances freely with the others in the house.

[302] Depilation follows. The girl sits on the tapir hide in the middle of the room while three to six women pull out her head hair in little bunches, [534] accompanied by a small drum (tambor) and rattle. She endures the operation calmly, not even drink being given to alleviate the pain. Her paternal uncle in a vigorous speech then instructs her about her future duties as a marriageable girl.

The masks are now surrendered, each owner receiving a piece of roast meat. The disguises are piled around the girl, until only her head protrudes. The cloth is then ripped and the shreds thrown over the house beams. The turury cloths, which now belong to the host, are wound up and put away.

The seclusion room and roast-meat stand are dismantled. The participants divide the pieces, going in a solemn procession to toss them into [482] the river. The girl is carried on the tapir hide held by five or six men over their heads in the procession. She undresses, and, kneeling in [751] shallow water where a magic arrow protects her against water demons, she is washed by all the men who have magical powers. She then redecorates herself and joins the dancers, who perform in the house until the last drop of beverage is drunk. At the end of the feast, everyone [522] bathes hilariously together, tossing each other into the water.

Formerly, in order to bring a large haul of fish, the girl was washed [226] again after the feast with a solution of timbó at an appropriate spot on [789] the creek.

Six to eight months later there is a supplementary but less ceremonial feast to trim the girl's regrown hair.

841 Subsequent menstruations entail few restrictions: a woman stays in her yard because the spirits of certain trees may injure her with an arrow and because contact with her would make a man inefficient in any undertaking.

836 **Marriage and adulthood.**—Sexual intercourse with prepubescent girls is unthinkable; with young women it brings shame on the whole family. There is no instance of ravishment. Rape is a grave offense to the parents.

584 A request for marriage is made to the girl's paternal uncle, but if the girl refuses peremptorily, she cannot be forced to marry. Public notice

2: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

undergo a ceremony performed by some competent shaman, who seeks mainly to protect them from the soul of the murdered witch.

RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY

The upper world.—The upper world, which is much lower than the stars, is divided into two parts. One is inhabited by men, who are like Indians, but live under very different conditions. The other is the residence of the goddess Taé (Our Mother) and of the souls of the deceased (naáe) who have been righteous. On their way to the upper world, souls must pass through a sort of gate made of two wooden posts which move back and forth in opposite directions and exclude the souls of incestuous persons, infanticides, murderers, and evil sorcerers. If, however, an evil soul reaches the residence of Taé, she releases two fantastically shaped monsters which demolish it, or else she throws it back to earth, where it becomes a small frog and eventually dies. Taé orders her monsters to purify the souls of occasional sinners by licking them from head to feet. An infanticide's soul has to appear before Taé with the body of the child across his mouth and eat it as a pap.

Taé is not all-powerful, and makes some careless mistakes. She is not the creator and has no connection with the two culture heroes, who equal her in importance, nor with demons, tree spirits, priests, or shamans. But the *Tucuna* greatly respect her because of her close connection with the punishment of sin, both during and after life, and her role as mistress of that part of the soul called naáë (thought, sense).

The other part of the human soul (natcií) is manifest after death as the "shadow of the deceased." It haunts old house sites and takes a human shape at night but at dawn is transformed into some small animal. It is somewhat feared because of its desire to suck one's blood and eat one's flesh and bones, leaving only the empty skin. Brave and smart people, however, easily fool it.

The lower world.—The oldest beings in the world are the demons of the underworlds (naáe); some are grouped in many clans, and others are unaffiliated. Though mortal, many are superior to or are very dangerous to men. Their appearance, represented in certain masks, is usually strange and horrible, though they sometimes assume human shape. Most of them live in different kinds of underground and subaquatic regions (nápi), which are entered through caves. Certain nápi are inhabited by anthropomorphic beings with strange defects, such as blind men, dwarfs, and men without anuses.

The most important subaquatic demons are the dyévae, who have the shape of gigantic silurides or ophidians. One, the master of fishes, shows itself in the eastern rainbow. Another, the master of potter's clay, appears